28: Spiro--9 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 622 Ifalik

"Ifaluk is one of eight small islands in the Central Carolines, all of whom recognize their political subservience to the island of Yap, and more particularly to the Gagil district on Yap. There seems to be two traditions that account for this subservience as far as Ifaluk is concerned. Dr. Burrows was informed that Ifaluk was originally populated by settlers from Gagil, with the result that Ifaluk looks to Gagil as its mother country. This Yap colonization presumably holds true for the other small islands as well. In discussing religion with the chiefs, I received another tradition, however. The Ifaluk creation story has it that when Autran, the primordial mother goddess, created man, she first created the people of Gagil, then those of the island of Mogmog in the atoll of Ulithi, and then the people of Ifaluk, and finally the people of the other islands. However, the traditions might differ, they both agree that Gagil occupies first rank in the native 'international' hiearchy, followed by Mogmog, with Ifaluk running a close third. It is of importance to note, however, that relative prestige is verbalized in terms of the prestige of the chiefs, rather than in terms of the respective peoples. That is, Yap is 'more high' because the Gagil chief is of preeminent importance, and Mogmog and Ifaluk occupy high positions because of the high positions of their chiefs."

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage, in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."